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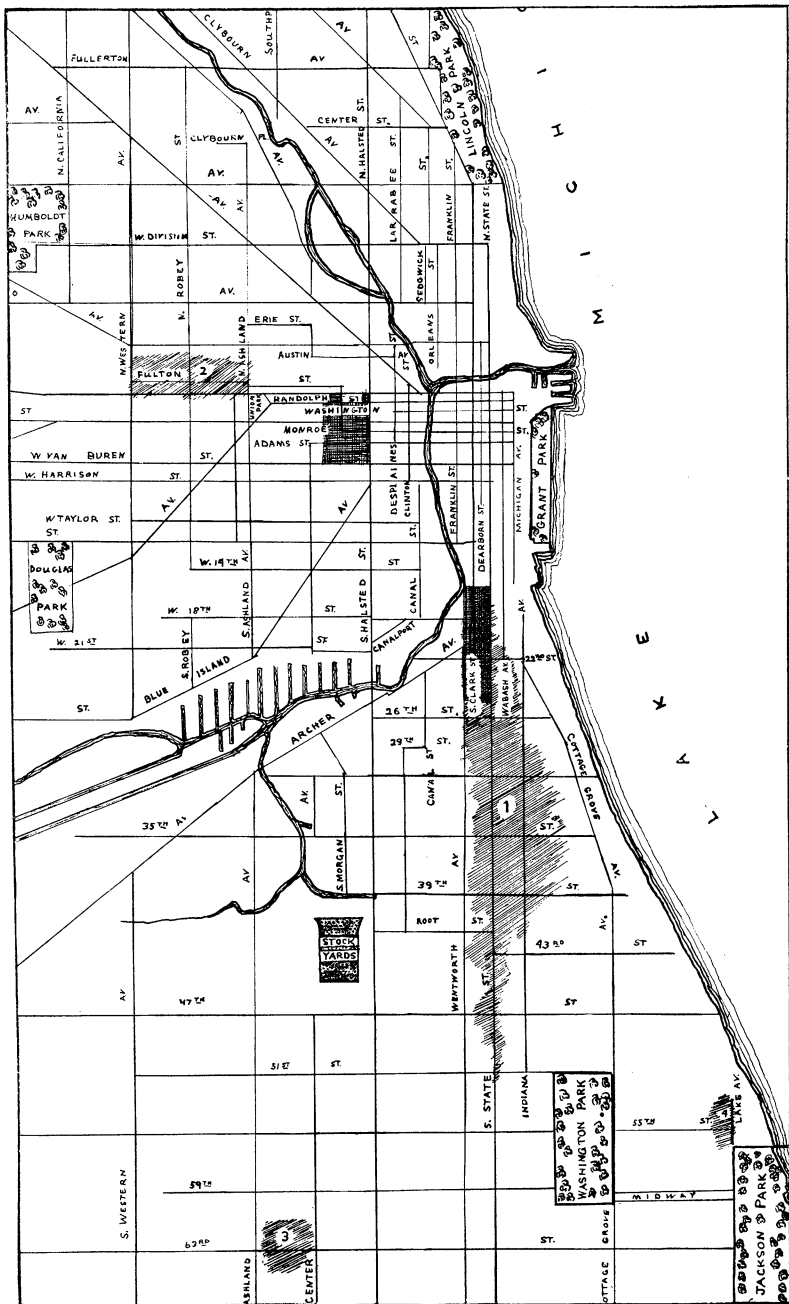
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Map of Chicago showing districts in which large numbers of colored people live; the four colored districts are numbered and indicated by single lines, the neighboring districts of segregated vice on the lower south and west sides are not numbered and are indicated by heavy double cross lines.

CHICAGO HOUSING CONDITIONS, VI: THE PROBLEM OF THE NEGRO¹

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Although the colored population of Chicago is a little less than 2 per cent of the entire population, the problems connected with it are far reaching. The Negro's economic and social limitations have brought peculiarities of living conditions in the colored sections of the city which are the concern of the white sections as well as of the colored. For this reason it was believed that an intensive study of the housing conditions in the two largest colored districts would throw light, not only upon the general conditions under which the Negro lives, but upon the larger housing problem of Chicago.

There are in Chicago four relatively well-defined districts in which a large proportion of colored people have resided for a number of years. The largest of these is the section on the South Side known as the "black belt." This section lies mainly in the Second, Third, and Thirtieth wards, the three wards which have the highest percentages of colored inhabitants.² This section has gradually extended southward from the business district, with State Street as its main thoroughfare. It now lies on both sides of State Street, from Sixteenth Street almost as far south as Fifty-fifth Street, with a center at the corner of State and Thirty-first streets, near which many of the colored professional and business men have their

¹ This article is one of a series dealing with housing conditions in Chicago which has been published in this journal by the directors and students of the Department of Social Investigation of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. Other articles in the series will be found in issues of September and November, 1910, January, July, and September, 1911.

As in the case of the articles previously published, the material was obtained by the students of the department in a house-to-house canvass of the selected districts. The work of tabulation was done by Grace P. Norton, assistant in the department.

² According to the School Census of 1910, the colored population comprises 92 per cent of the total minor population of the Second Ward, and 80 per cent of the total minor population of the Third Ward. The Thirtieth Ward is third with 53 per cent.

offices. The older and poorer dwellings are as a rule found grouped in the section west of State Street, following the two lines of railroad tracks. Many of the colored people who desire a better neighborhood have moved east of State Street; Wabash Avenue is for two or three miles largely occupied by Negroes; and Indiana, Prairie, and Forest avenues, and a few streets even nearer the lake, also have colored colonies, mostly of recent growth. The members of the colored groups have shown a tendency to follow main lines of traffic and to keep close to the railroads, due probably to the character of their occupations; for the Negro's work is seldom connected with an industry peculiar to a certain community, as is so often the case with the immigrant, but is most often on the railroads or in the downtown business section.

The second largest district, that on the West Side, has followed the main lines of traffic running west from the business section. It lies in the Fourteenth Ward, which has 32 per cent of its population colored. The district may be said to be bounded by Lake Street, Ashland, Austin, and Western avenues. Parts of this tract are occupied by factories employing other nationalities; consequently the neighborhood has not the conspicuous characteristics of the South Side "black belt"; the small shops are not so generally in the hands of the Negroes; and even the groups on the street corners show the cosmopolitan character of the neighborhood.

The two smaller districts are both in the southern part of the city, although distinctly separate from the largest district, which is usually called the South Side district. In Englewood, southwest of the largest section is a small residence district from Sixty-first Street to Sixty-fifth Street, between Center and Ashland avenues. It is not yet thickly settled, and has almost no business establishments. The fourth and smallest district is in Hyde Park, close to the Illinois Central tracks, and not far from the lake shore. This district extends from Fifty-third Street to Fifty-seventh Street along Lake Avenue, which at this point is lined with small shops and cheap amusement places.

In order to obtain detailed information with regard to housing conditions in a small area in the two largest districts, a house-to-house canvass was made in four blocks in the South Side "black

belt" and in three on the West Side. The blocks on the South Side chosen for investigation were the three bounded by Dearborn Street, Twenty-seventh Street, Armour Avenue, and Thirty-second Street. These blocks are in the poorer section, close to the tracks; they are farther south than the district of segregated vice, but it is hardly possible that the residents of these blocks can escape its influences.¹

The blocks chosen on the West Side were the three bounded by Fulton and Paulina streets, Carroll Avenue, and Robey Street. These lie in a neighborhood which has a large number of old houses whose owners and agents, awaiting the inroads of the manufacturing district, have declined to make extensive repairs, and white and colored alike have been making use of houses ill-suited either for lodging-houses or for small flats. Here also an effort was made to choose blocks as indicative as possible of the situation over a large area. The families in these blocks are probably more nearly normal than those in the South Side blocks, for the influence of the district of segregated vice has been less distinctly felt.

For the colored families who are able to move out of such districts as these, the situation is difficult enough. If a man wishes better influences for his growing children than the South State Street saloon or cheap amusement place provides, he can sometimes get an apartment in a better neighborhood, or sometimes even buy property, secretly, or through a friendly white man. Then, though he may have to live with almost no fellowship of his own kind for years, he will have improved his children's surroundings. But for the colored families who cannot afford to move away from such districts as these, the situation is far more difficult; even the fundamental matter of health must be disregarded in the problem of making both ends meet; tenants have neither the money nor

¹ The report of the vice commission of Chicago emphasizes this fact: "The history of the social evil in Chicago is intimately connected with the colored population. Invariably the larger vice districts have been created within or near the settlements of colored people. In the past history of the city, nearly every time a new vice district was created down town or on the South Side, the colored families were in the district, moving in just ahead of the prostitutes. The situation along State Street from Sixteenth Street south is an illustration." "Any effort to improve conditions in Chicago should provide more wholesome surroundings for the families of its colored citizens who now live in communities of colored people." See "The Social Evil in Chicago," pp. 38, 39.

the influence to bring about necessary changes and improvements; they must take these old, dingy, frequently broken-down houses and endure the consequences with small hope of being able to better their condition. It is for these families, in the poorer neighborhoods, that the question of housing conditions is of foremost importance.

The two districts chosen were known to differ in the character of the population, a difference which shows at once in Table I.

TABLE I
NATIONALITIES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS

NATIONALITY	NUMBER OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN	
	South Side	West Side
American, white	6	67
American, colored	408	81
Irish .....	..	17
Other English-speaking	5	18
German	5	26
Foreign, miscellaneous	10	19
No report	2	7
Total	436	235

In the South Side blocks which have a nearly homogeneous population, 94 per cent of the heads of families are colored; while on the West Side only a little over one-third are colored, and the remaining two-thirds represent sixteen different countries and nationalities. The South Side Negro lives in a Negro community, while the West Side Negro may live next to an Irishman or a German and sometimes in the same house with him. Here the white man can get advantages or improvements for his house which the Negro cannot obtain; while on the South Side, the almost solid Negro blocks have equal advantages, or equal lack of them. This difference between the two sections in the composition of the population goes far to explain some of the differences in the minor characteristics of the two neighborhoods, and the fact that several of the peculiarities of the first neighborhood are less marked in the second.

In the South Side district for example, the number of children is remarkably small. There are less than one-half as many children as lodgers. The lodgers constitute in fact 31 per cent of the total block population.

TABLE II
COMPOSITION OF BLOCK POPULATION

DISTRICT	NUMBER IN FAMILIES		LODGERS	TOTAL
	Adults	Children		
South Side.....	1,031	202	542	1,775
West Side.....	589	187	122	898
Total.....	1,620	389	664	2,673

The West Side district shows the characteristics of a more nearly normal group, namely, a smaller proportion of lodgers, and a larger proportion of children. In the district which was investigated in South Chicago,¹ which showed a population mainly Polish, children formed nearly a third of the population. Here, on the South Side, they form only a little more than a tenth, and on the West Side a little more than a fifth. The explanation is far from simple. The economic and social pressure of modern life may have forced down the birth-rate among the Negroes as it has among the native-born whites; or it may be that a high death-rate, due in part to the conditions under which the colored people are forced to live, accounts for the small number of children in the families.

The high percentage of lodgers, 31 per cent on the South Side and 14 per cent on the West Side, is significant when compared with such districts as the Bohemian and the Polish, where only 5 and 4 per cent of the population were lodgers. Only in two other districts investigated, those near the Stockyards and in South Chicago, where in each case more than a fourth of the group were lodgers, were such high percentages of lodgers found.

The houses in the colored blocks are often low, one or two-story

¹ See *American Journal of Sociology*, XVII, No. 1, p. 150.

buildings. On the whole there is a considerable amount of vacant space in the lots. One-half of the lots in both districts had less than 50 per cent of their space covered.¹ Instead of the small irregular paved courts, such as one sees in the Polish section on the Northwest Side, these houses often have fairly large back yards, sometimes with grass and shrubs growing in them. The yards are almost always dirty and disfigured by rubbish, but at least they afford more air space than if they were crowded with buildings. In all of the foreign districts except South Chicago, which is, of course, of comparatively recent growth, the buildings are crowded more thickly upon the lots; here the property-owners are not making improvements, or utilizing the land space either by extending old buildings or by building new ones.

The colored people in these districts do not to any great extent live in large tenement houses. The houses are small, and some of them, with their boarded-up porches and shaky board walks, resemble the Negroes' cottages in small villages. Here, too, the windows are sometimes filled with plants, and sometimes a straggling vine has been trained over a porch, but the Negro's taste for beauty can usually find little with which to gratify itself in these dingy sections.

The houses are usually frame, and as a rule have only two stories. Some of them were intended for two-family houses, but others were plainly built for single dwellings, and have been converted into two-flat houses regardless of the fact that they are not fitted for

¹ The following table shows the percentage of lot covered in both districts:

PERCENTAGE OF LOT COVERED	DISTRICT			
	South Side		West Side	
	Number of Lots	Percentage	Number of Lots	Percentage
Less than 50.....	106	57	58	53
50 and less than 60.....	22	12	13	12
60 and less than 70.....	21	11	13	12
70 or more.....	35	20	25	23
Total.....	184	100	109*	100

* The percentage of lot covered was not obtained for ten premises.

two families.¹ A large number of them are "front" houses, that is, open directly upon the street. Out of the 209 buildings on the South Side, only 4 were on the middle of the lot and 21 at the rear and out of 131 on the West Side, 3 were on the middle of the lot and 14 at the rear. The few alley houses have probably been moved back from the street when new houses were built in their places. The rooms in such houses are usually poorly lighted and ventilated; the houses are much more dilapidated than the front houses; sanitary provisions are often inadequate; and the alley and ground

TABLE III
STATE OF REPAIR OF HOUSES INVESTIGATED

State of Repair	South Side Number	West Side Number
Good.....	55	44
Fair.....	102	39
Bad.....	52	41
Total.....	209	124
No report.....	..	7

around the house are usually disfigured with rubbish and refuse. The mere passer-by in the colored districts is impressed with the dilapidation of the buildings. Outside stairways and porches seem to be almost falling apart. The house-to-house canvass showed the houses to be conspicuously out of repair in other respects also. The following table shows that on the South Side 52 houses or 25 per cent of the whole were in bad repair, and on the West Side 41 houses or 31 per cent of the total number, were in bad repair.

¹ The following table shows the number of houses occupied by one or more families:

Number of Houses with	South Side	West Side
One apartment.....	37	44
Two apartments.....	111	50
Three apartments.....	33	18
Four apartments.....	7	6
Five or more apartments.....	11	4
No apartments*.....	10	9
Total.....	209	131

* That is, houses not used as dwellings.

Inside and out they compare unfavorably with those in the other districts. The percentage of houses reported in "good repair" was 71 per cent in the Polish district, 57 in the Bohemian, and 54 in the Stockyards, while in both the Jewish and the South Chicago districts it was only 28 per cent. The South Side colored district (the more nearly homogeneous district, it will be remembered) falls even below the percentages of the two last-named districts, with only 26 per cent of the buildings in good repair. On the West Side, while 44, or 35 per cent, were said to be in good repair, 31 per cent were absolutely dilapidated—a state of disrepair greater than in any district investigated except the Jewish section. Broken-down doors, unsteady flooring, and general dilapidation were met by the investigators at every side. Window panes were out, doors hanging on single hinges or entirely fallen off, and roofs rotting and leaking. Colored tenants reported that they found it impossible to persuade their landlords either to make the necessary repairs or to release them from their contracts; and that it was so hard to find better places in which to live that they were forced either to make the repairs themselves, which they could rarely afford to do, or to endure the conditions as best they might. Several tenants ascribed cases of severe and prolonged illness to the unhealthful condition of the houses in which they were living.

The sanitary provisions in these districts are in many cases inadequate. Since most of the houses are one- and two-family houses, it might be expected that a large proportion would have private toilet facilities. Table IV shows that one-third of the families in each district, however, do not have closets within the apartment, and use yard, basement, and hall closets, which though illegal for new-law tenement houses, are still allowed in old-law houses and in one-family houses.¹ Since only 5 "new-law" houses, that is, houses built since 1902, were found on the South Side, and only one on the West Side, the hall, yard, and basement closets found by the investigators are not illegal. They are, however, no more conducive to the good health or morals of the tenants when found in old houses than in new; and most of them are of the antiquated "long hopper" variety which is now outlawed. Moreover, although the privy vault has been outlawed since 1894, there

¹ Tolman, *Municipal Code*, sec. 434.

were found in the West Side blocks six privy vaults, three unused, and three used by five families.

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF APARTMENTS WITH SPECIFIED TOILET ARRANGEMENTS

Provision	South Side Number	West Side Number
Privy vault.....	...	5
Yard closet.....	118	48
Basement or cellar closet.....	13	10
Hall closet.....	34	11
Private (within the apartment)....	282	151
No report or vacant.....	11	29
Total.....	458	254

The colored families do not as a rule live in the small and cramped apartments in which other nationalities are so often found. Even the families who apply to the United Charities for relief are frequently living in apartments which would be considered adequate, as far as the number of rooms is concerned, for families in comfortable circumstances. Of course the opposite extreme is sometimes met with; several colored families live in one-room apartments; and sometimes houses are so crowded with lodgers that members of the family are reduced to such schemes as that of one South Side housewife who, having rented all her rooms, puts her ironing-board across the bath-tub at night and sleeps on it. The following table shows that the majority of the families in these blocks have five- or six-room apartments.

TABLE V
NUMBER OF APARTMENTS HAVING SPECIFIED NUMBER OF ROOMS

Number of Rooms	Number	Percentage
One room.....	5	*
Two rooms.....	13	2
Three rooms.....	41	6
Four rooms.....	143	20
Five rooms.....	205	29
Six rooms.....	204	29
Seven rooms or more.....	91	13
No report.....	10	1
Total.....	712	100

* Less than 1 per cent.

In four other districts investigated the majority of the families live in four rooms, while in the Jewish neighborhood the ordinary family lives in three rooms. Many colored families lease these large apartments in the hope of filling them with lodgers; others, seeking smaller and less expensive apartments, find that they apparently do not exist; for many of the houses have been built for use as single houses and are not easily cut up into more than two apartments. Cellar and basement apartments are seldom utilized. No cellar apartments were found in either district, and only fourteen basement apartments on the South Side and seven on the West Side.

One of the most important provisions of the tenement code is that which relates to overcrowding. According to the present ordinance any room in a tenement is illegally crowded if it does not contain 400 cubic feet of air space for each adult "living or sleeping" in it, and 200 cubic feet of air for each child under twelve.¹ This regulation applies to old-law and new-law houses alike.

Table VI shows that 29 per cent of the rooms used for sleeping were overcrowded; that is, that the law specifying the minimum of air space was violated in nearly a third of the sleeping-rooms. The numbers above the black lines in this table indicate cases in which the law was found to be violated. Such cases are those on the South Side, where three adults and one child were sleeping in one room, with less than the minimum for two adults, or that on the West Side where four grown persons and one child were sleeping in a room not large enough for two persons. They mean, in actual life, a lack of privacy which can hardly fail to be demoralizing, especially for the children.

Some of this crowding would be unnecessary if the colored people were willing to follow the customs of other nationalities and use all of the rooms in their apartments as sleeping-rooms. In only six apartments on the South Side and two on the West Side were all the rooms used at night. This means that unlike the immigrant, even the poor colored people like to keep a kitchen and "parlor," and occasionally a dining-room, distinctly as such and not crowded with beds.

When overcrowding takes place in an inadequately ventilated

¹ Tolman, *Municipal Code*, sec. 420.

sleeping-room, the level of health must eventually be depressed. A room without a window, or with a window opening only into another

TABLE VI
NUMBER OF PERSONS SLEEPING IN ROOMS OF SPECIFIED CUBIC CONTENTS
SOUTH AND WEST SIDES

CONTENTS OF ROOM IN CUBIC FEET	NUMBER OF ROOMS OCCUPIED BY								Total number of overcrowded rooms: 472 (29 per cent)	TOTAL
	One Child	One Adult*	One Adult and One Child	Two Adults	Two Adults and One Child	Three Adults	Three Adults and One Child	Four Adults and One Child	Five Adults	
Less than 400.....	...	9	4	8	...	...	...	...	...	21
400 and less than 600.....	8	231	27	155	21	6	...	...	...	448
600 and less than 800.....	12	233	35	191	17	9	2	1	...	500
800 and less than 1,000.....	4	106	6	91	12	4	3	...	...	226
1,000 and less than 1,200.....	3	41	5	50	4	1	...	...	...	104
1,200 and less than 1,400.....	7	50	4	38	5	5	1	...	1	111
1,400 and less than 1600.....	5	48	7	27	...	4	...	...	...	91
1,600 and less than 18,00.....	2	37	4	17	2	3	...	...	...	65
1,800 and less than 2,000.....	2	18	2	20	2	1	...	...	...	45
2,000 or more.....	1	20	4	15	1	1	...	...	...	42
Total.....	44	793	98	612	64	34	6	1	1	1,653

*To avoid confusion, one adult is used also when two children were occupying the room, since, according to the law, two children require the same cubic air space as one adult.

room, or upon an outer wall without space for fresh air to enter, cannot be a proper place for sleeping. Fifty-one of such rooms were found on the South Side and seventeen on the West Side.¹ The

* NUMBER OF PERSONS SLEEPING IN ROOMS WHICH CANNOT BE VENTILATED

A. SOUTH SIDE (4 BLOCKS)

NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS	NUMBER OF ROOMS HAVING			TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS
	No Window	Interior Window Only	Outer Window Inadequate	
Unoccupied.....	11	6	9	..
1 person.....	1	..	8	9
2 persons.....	3	6	3	24
3 persons.....	..	1	1	6
4 persons.....	1	..	..	4
5 persons.....	..	..	1	5
Total number of persons.....	..	..	..	48
Total number of rooms.....	16	13	22	51

[Footnote 1 continued on p. 252]

ordinance providing that every habitable room shall have its window area equal to one-tenth of its floor area, and all windows opening directly to the outer air¹ applies only to new-law tenements, but the necessity of good air and light, like that of adequate sanitary provisions, is as important for a family living in a house built in 1900 as for one living in a house built in 1903. Rooms without windows, of which sixteen were found in the first district and five in the second, are illegal in both classes of tenements and in private houses.

A large number of rooms were found to be inadequately lighted. "Dark" and "gloomy" are at best only relative terms, but an attempt was made to standardize them as far as possible; the investigators recorded a room as "dark" when it was possible to read only when standing close to the window, and "gloomy" when one could read only a few feet away from the window.

TABLE VII
DARK AND GLOOMY ROOMS

CONDITION OF ROOMS	SOUTH SIDE (4 BLOCKS)		WEST SIDE (3 BLOCKS)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Light.....	1,621	68	1,006	78
Dark or gloomy.....	769	32	278	22
Total.....	2,390	100	1,284	100

Table VII shows that 32 per cent of the rooms in the first district were inadequately lighted, and 22 per cent of those in the second.

Footnote 1, continued from p. 251]

B. WEST SIDE (3 BLOCKS)

NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS	NUMBER OF ROOMS HAVING			TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS
	No Window	Interior Window Only	Outer Window Inadequate	
Unoccupied.....	3	2	3	
1 person.....	1	2	1	4
2 persons.....	1	2	1	8
3 persons.....		1		3
Total number of persons.....				15
Total number of rooms.....	5	7	5	17

¹ Tolman, *Municipal Code*, secs. 285, 413.

The large number of dark rooms is due here as in most other sections to the shape of the lots; they are very long and narrow, and are often called "shoestring" lots. The houses, though open at the front and back, have almost no space at the sides. Table VIII shows that nearly all of the poorly lighted rooms open upon a passage, which is almost always that between the house and the one next it, facing the street. With a lot of this shape, all the light must come from the front or rear, and often the rear is so close to the rear of another house that the light is poor even there.

TABLE VIII
OUTLOOK OF WINDOWS IN DARK AND GLOOMY ROOMS

OUTLOOK	SOUTH SIDE (4 BLOCKS)		WEST SIDE (3 BLOCKS)	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Room or hall.....	13	2	7	3
Alley, yard, street, or roof..	57	7	18	6
Porch, court, or stairway...	17	2	19	7
Shaft or wall.....	36	5	32	11
Passage.....	628	82	197	71
No window.....	16	2	5	2
Total.....	767*	100	278	100

* The outlook for two dark rooms was not reported.

Probably the most significant problem in the matter of the housing of the colored people is the question of rent. This investigation confirms the general impression that the rent paid by Negroes is appreciably higher than that paid by people of any other nationality. Instances are given of the actual doubling of rents when a building is given over to colored tenants. The general range of rents in these districts should be significant, for each district is probably typical in this respect of an extended area and a large number of people. Table IX shows the rents for each of the districts in detail, indicating the extremely high rents paid in a few cases for apartments in these dingy and poorly kept neighborhoods.

Since the apartment most frequently found in these two sections contains two or three more rooms than the ordinary apartment in five other districts investigated, it was found, as is to be expected, that the rents in these two districts ranged higher. Moreover, it was found that the rents for even the four-room apartments were

conspicuously higher than the rents for the four-room apartments in the other districts. The relative range of the rents may be seen in Table X which presents the median rents, that is, the points halfway up the scale of rents when they are arranged in an ascending series, for four-room apartments in the seven districts. The rents in the South Side district are conspicuously the highest. Those on the West Side are nearly the same as the Jewish, but have a wider range. While half of the people in the Bohemian, Polish, and Stockyards districts were paying not more than \$8.50 a month for their four-room apartments, half the tenants on the South Side were paying at least \$12 for apartments of the same size; moreover, as we have previously seen, the houses in which the colored people live are in poorer repair. That is, a larger proportion

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF APARTMENTS FOR WHICH SPECIFIED MONTHLY RENTALS ARE PAID,
TOGETHER WITH NUMBER OF ROOMS

A. SOUTH SIDE (4 BLOCKS)

RENT PER MONTH	NUMBER OF ROOMS							TOTAL
	3 or Less	4	5	6	7	8 or More	No Report	
\$ 6.00.....	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	5
7.00.....	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	5
8.00.....	7	7	1	1	..	..	..	16
9.00.....	1	2	2	1	..	..	..	6
10.00.....	7	16	6	5	..	..	..	34
11.00.....	2	3	1	..	1	..	..	7
12.00.....	..	14	14	3	..	2	..	33
12.50.....	..	3	1	..	..	..	..	4
13.00.....	..	9	9	..	..	..	..	18
14.00.....	..	5	12	9	..	..	..	26
15.00.....	2	9	15	15	..	..	..	41
16.00.....	..	5	29	26	3	..	..	63
17.00.....	..	1	3	6	2	1	..	13
18.00.....	..	..	14	15	..	1	..	30
18.50.....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
19.00.....	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	5
20.00-24.00.....	..	..	13	41	11	3	..	68
25.00 or more.....	..	..	..	9	4	9	..	22
Vacant or rent unknown.....	10	7	15	7	1	1	3	44
Number of apartments rented.....	34	84	138	139	25	18	3	441
Number of apartments owned.....	..	1	5	4	3	4	..	17
Total.....	34	85	143	143	28	22	3	458

B. WEST SIDE (3 BLOCKS)

RENT PER MONTH	NUMBER OF ROOMS							TOTAL
	3 or Less	4	5	6	7	8 or More	No Report	
\$ 3.00.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
4.00.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
5.00.....	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	3
6.00.....	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
7.00.....	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	8
7.50.....	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	3
8.00.....	3	10	4	2	..	..	..	19
8.50.....	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
9.00.....	3	5	3	..	..	..	..	11
10.00.....	4	8	7	5	..	..	..	24
11.00.....	..	2	4	2	..	..	..	8
12.00.....	..	11	14	6	..	..	..	31
12.50.....	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
13.00.....	..	4	1	3	1	..	..	9
14.00.....	..	..	5	6	1	..	..	12
15.00.....	..	2	8	11	3	1	..	25
15.50.....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
16.00.....	..	..	4	3	3	1	..	11
17.00.....	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
18.00.....	..	1	..	7	4	4	..	16
20.00 or more.....	..	..	..	..	3	2	..	5
Vacant or rent unknown.....	6	7	4	7	5	3	7	39
Number of apartments rented.....	25	57	57	54	22	11	7	233
Number of apartments owned.....	..	1	5	7	3	5	..	21
Total.....	25	58	62	61	25	16	7	254

of the colored man's wages goes for rent, with disproportionately small return to him; the immigrant, for a smaller amount of money, may live in a better house than the Negro. The explanation for this condition of affairs among the colored people is comparatively simple; the results are far-reaching. The strong prejudice among the

TABLE X
MEDIAN RENTALS FOR FOUR-ROOM APARTMENTS
FOR SEVEN DISTRICTS

District	Median
Jewish.....	\$10.00- \$10.50
Bohemian.....	8.00- 8.50
Polish.....	8.00- 8.50
Stockyards.....	8.00- 8.50
South Chicago.....	9.00- 9.50
Colored (South Side).....	12.00- 12.50
Colored (West Side).....	10.00- 10.50

white people against having colored people living on white residence streets, colored children attending schools with white children, or entering into other semi-social relations with them, confines the opportunities for residence open to colored people of all positions in life to relatively small and well-defined areas. Consequently the demand for houses and apartments within these areas is strong and comparatively steady, and since the landlord is reasonably certain that the house or apartment can be filled at any time, as long as it is in any way tenantable, he takes advantage of his opportunities to raise rents and to postpone repairs. The districts are still further limited in area by the fact that the Negro's place of work, if it lies within the city at all, is usually the big building in the business district, where he serves as porter, waiter, or servant, and accordingly the downtown district must be easily accessible for him.

Colored families not only find it difficult to obtain a flat of three or four rooms, but are unwilling to live in so cramped a fashion. They express as great disapproval of a way of living which they term "foreign" as they do of the haphazard meals and poor clothes with which the immigrant contents himself for a season in order that he may the more quickly make his way in the new land. Accordingly the colored family accepts the larger flat with several rooms, hoping that some turn of fortune will provide the rent. Sometimes, however, the colored family in the large flat is in fact living in as crowded quarters as the immigrant, while paying for more rooms. One family on the West Side is paying for seven rooms, while using only four, because the other rooms are too damp to be used; but the rooms are comfortably furnished, and the mere presence of the unused rooms seems to be a factor in keeping up the status of the family.

The great resource in meeting rent is not in small economy, but in taking lodgers. As has been shown, lodgers form nearly a third of the population on the South Side, and on the West Side a seventh. Not only do the lodgers cause crowding in the sleeping-rooms, but they are the occasion of a more enduring evil. The pressing necessity of taking lodgers often means that the householders cannot choose the lodgers who are to be admitted. Failure to take in a lodger

may mean failure to meet the next rent-day, and possible ejection. Consequently if a lodger demands to be "allowed privileges"—to be allowed to take a "lady" to his room and have no questions asked—the needy householder has small choice. In this way a questionable element is admitted into the house, and it becomes impossible to maintain standards of family life safe either for the boys or for the girls in the family.

The Negro does not seek to escape the problem of rent by becoming a property-holder. On the South Side only 4 per cent of the apartments were occupied by owners of the houses, and on the West Side 8 per cent. This proportion is lower than that in any of the five other districts investigated. In the South Chicago and Stockyards districts, where the highest percentage of ownership was found, 18 per cent of the families owned their houses. The Negro of this class cannot save the money necessary for property holding, nor does he desire so strongly to be tied to the soil as do other races. He moves frequently from house to house, in fruitless effort to find a house which is in better repair than the one in which he has been living.

The results of this study, then, indicate that the colored tenant pays disproportionately high rent for his apartment, which he is liable to find in poorer repair than his immigrant neighbor. But it does not follow that this fact is entirely due to the simple raising of rents in certain districts. The Negro, with a weekly wage no larger, and usually smaller, than that of his immigrant neighbor, endeavors to maintain a standard of living more similar to that of the native-born white citizen than does the immigrant. He does not consent to so large a degree of crowding for the purpose of increasing the ratio of income to rent, and he demands a place of residence which shall be easily and quickly reached from his place of employment.